

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 CU-06 ACDA-12
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 HA-05
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O 080925Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5712

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 1941

FOR EUR/RPM (JOHN KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S FINAL
STATEMENT

1. MALTESE HAVE YIELDED (DETAILS SEPTTEL). FOLLOWING FINAL

TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S CLOSING STATEMENT, TO BE DELIVERED
IN OPEN PLENARY SESSION MARCH 8 AFTER ADOPTION OF CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WISH TO THANK OUR YUGOSLAV HOSTS FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH
THEY HAVE PROVIDED FOR US AT THIS CONFERENCE. THE SECRETARIAT
UNDER THE ABLE DIRECTION OF AMBASSADOR BOZINOVIC, THE YUGOSLAV
DELEGATION AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA EXPENDED
EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE OUR CONFERENCE A SUCCESS. I WISH PARTICU-
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LARLY TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY, AMBASSADOR PESIC.
HIS CONSTANT STEADFASTNESS AND DETERMINATION EVEN WHEN OUR WORK
WAS IN ITS MOST DIFFICULT HOURS WAS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US.
IT IS A SOURCE OF GRATIFICATION TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION THAT
PRESIDENT TITO IS THIS VERY WEEK IN THE UNITED STATES WHERE
PRESIDENT CARTER IS CONVEYING TO HIM HIS PERSONAL APPRECIATION
FOR THE UNIQUELY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS PLAYED

NOT ONLY IN THE BELGRADE MEETING BUT IN THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF BUILDING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

I CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE IN THIS FINAL STATEMENT TO EXPRESS FRANKLY THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON THE BELGRADE MEETING AND ON THE CSCE PROCESS THAT WAS BEGUN IN HELSINKI AND WILL CONTINUE IN MADRID AND THEREAFTER.

THE BELGRADE MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- THE FIRST FORMAL SEQUEL TO THE HELSINKI SUMMIT -- IS NOW AT ITS END. IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE MEETING HAS FULFILLED ITS BASIC MANDATE AND ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT, IT HAS ALSO BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

IN THESE PAST MONTHS -- WITH THE SUPPORT OF OUR GRACIOUS, PATIENT YUGOSLAV HOSTS AND THROUGH THE CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORTS OF THE DELEGATES -- OUR MEETING HAS CONFIRMED THE VITALITY OF THE HELSINKI CONCEPT.

BELGRADE HAS TESTED THE VALIDITY AND FLEXIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS. IT HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY PASSAGE, BUT WE HAVE DELINEATED THE SCOPE OF THE PROCESS AND ADDED TO ITS DEPTH. MOST OF ALL, WE HAVE GIVEN OUR COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THE PROCESS AND MAKING ITS GROWTH OUR COMMON ENTERPRISE.

WE HAVE HAD THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH THE FINAL ACT
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MANDATES ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PROVISIONS AND ON THE PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVED MUTUAL RELATIONS. WE HAVE SPOKEN OUR OWN MINDS AND HAVE HEARD OUT THE OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO DIFFER FROM US.

IN DOING SO, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE SOVER ASSESSMENT OF PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS, CONTINUING SHORTCOMINGS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES. WE HAVE AGREED TO CONTINUE THIS DISCOURSE BILATEBALLY AND IN MADRID IN 1980.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS VIEWED THE FULFILLMENT OF FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS AS PART OF A GRADUAL, BUT STEADILY ADVANCING PROCESS OF BRIDGING THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE; OF EXTENDING THE BENEFITS OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION THROUGHOUT EUROPE, INCLUDING OF COURSE BERLIN. THE CONTRIBUTION OF CSCE HAS BEEN TO ENGAGE 35 STATES -- DIFFERENT IN SIZE AND SYSTEM, HISTORY AND OUTLOOK -- IN THAT VITAL EFFORT. THE ROLE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS BEEN TO DEEPEN THAT ENGAGEMENT AND TO MAKE SPECIFIC THE CONDUCT WHICH IT ENTAILS.

FROM OUR TALKS HAS EMERGED A CLEARER SENSE OF THE TASKS BEFORE US. NO COUNTRY CAN BE ALLOWED TO SINGLE OUT PARTIBULAR

SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT FOR THEIR ATTENTION WHILE IGNORING OTHERS. PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS AS WELL AS DISARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION ARE INESTRICABLY LINKED TOGETHER IN THE FINAL ACT. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION -- AND OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW OF ITS PROGRESS -- LIES PRECISELY IN COMBINING THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF DETENTE IN A COHERENT, RELATED WHOLE.

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 HA-05
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LAST OCTOBER I SPOKE OF GIVING DETENTE A "HUMANITARIAN FACE AND A HUMAN MEASURE." THAT HAS, INDEED, BEEN ONE OF THE MAIN THEMES OF THIS MEETING. FOR THOUGH WE ARE HERE TO REPRESENT GOVERNMENTS, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE AS WELL AS OF POWER. WE HAVE WEIGHED THE CLAIMS OF INDIVIDUALS, NOT JUST THE INTERESTS OF STATES.

THUS WE EXPLORED THE PROMISES MADE AT HELSINKI TO RESPECT THE TOLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND GROUPS IN MONITORING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF DIVIDED FAMILIES, TO FACILITATE THE RIGHT OF FREE EMIGRATION, AND TO BETTER THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH SCIENTISTS, JOURNALISTS, SCHOLARS AND BUSINESSMEN WORK. THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS IN SOME OF THESE AREAS BUT NOT NEARLY ENOUGH AND REGRETTABLY THERE HAVE BEEN RETROGRESSIONS.

THE FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF SUCH QUESTIONS IN THE DAYS TO COME WILL DO MUCH TO CREATE THE CLIMATE OF OPENNESS IN WHICH DETENTE ITSELF WILL FLOURISH. A DETENTE RELATIONSHIP WHICH BETTERS THE LOT OF INDIVIDUALS AND SMOOTHES CONTACT BETWEEN THEM IS ALSO CERTAIN TO IMPROVE THE TIES BETWEEN STATES.

CRUCIALLY, OF COURSE, OUR MEETING DEALT AT LENGTH WITH THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. OUR CITIZENS' UNCLASSIFIED

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FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF; THEIR ABILITY TO EXERCISE THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS EFFECTIVELY--INDIVIDUALLY OR IN

GROUPS -- RAISED SENSITIVE ISSUES AT BELGRADE. THEIR SENSITIVITY WAS PART OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. OUR MEETING WAS THE FIRST TO PUT THOSE QUESTIONS PROMINENTLY AND LEGITIMATELY INTO THE FRAMEWORK OF MULTILATERAL EAST-WEST DIPLOMACY.

THE IDEA IS A POWERFUL ONE, AND AT BELGRADE IT HAS WON POWERFUL SUPPORT. IT HAS ALSO AROUSED STRONG OPPOSITION. WE HAVE HEARD THE CONTENTION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE PURELY INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THAT TO DISCUSS THEIR OBSERVANCE IN ANOTHER NATION IS TO VIOLATE THAT NATION'S SOVEREIGNTY, TO INTERFERE IN MATTERS THAT ARE NO OUTSIDER'S CONCERN.

THE FINAL ACT REFUTES THAT REASONING. THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS MADE IT UNTENABLE.

BY VIRTUE OF PRINCIPLE VII, HUMAN RIGHTS ARE DIRECT CONCERNS OF ALL FINAL ACT SIGNATORIES. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS -- AS WELL AS THE FINAL ACT -- THEY ARE THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS. THEY ARE THEN, WITHOUT QUESTION, THE PROPER SUBJECT OF THE DIPLOMATIC EXAMINATION AND DEBATE WE HAVE HAD IN BELGRADE. AND THEY WILL REMAIN AFTER BELGRADE, THE PROPER FOCUS OF CONTINUING COMMENT AND EFFORTS.

FOR THE PURSUIT OF LIBERTY IS AN UNENDING ENTERPRISE FOR MAN, THE SUREST GUARANTEE OF HIS SECURITY AND OF PEACE. WHAT THE FINAL ACT OBLIGED US ALL TO PURSUE IS WHAT ALEKSANDR PUSHKIN DEFINED LONG AGO AS A "BETTER KIND OF FREEDOM." THAT, HE WROTE, IS THE FREEDOM "NOT TO BOW YOUR CONSCIENCE, THOUGHT OR NECK TO RANK OR POWER..." THAT CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY IS UNCLASSIFIED

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STILL THE VISION OFFERED TO US BY THE FINAL ACT, THE VISION ALL OF US PLEDGED TO RESPECT AND PROMOTE.

WE KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT NOT ALL OF US HAVE FULFILLED THAT PLEDGE IN FULL OR IN GOOD FAITH. THE AMERICAN DELEGATION HAS SPOKEN FORTHRIGHTLY AT BELGRADE OF THE BROKEN AND UNFULFILLED PROMISES OF PRINCIPLE VII AND BASKET THREE. WE HAVE EXPRESSED

OUR CONCERN AND OUR REGRET AND -- AT TIMES -- OUR OUTRAGE
AT THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF
THE FINAL ACT AND IN PROFOUND DISREGARD OF ITS PROVISIONS
IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 HA-05
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OUR MEETING COULD NOT OVERLOOK SUCH EPISODES, ESPECIALLY WHEN
UNWARRANTED REPRESSION IS DIRECTED AGAINST MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE
ONLY OFFENSE SEEMS TO BE THAT THEY HAVE MERELY SOUGHT TO MONITOR,
OR ENFORCE, OR IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS AND THE PROMISES OF THE
HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THEIR ACTIVITY IS ENCOURAGED BY THE FINAL
ACT. IT NEEDS TO BE PROTECTED, NOT PUNISHED.

SIMILARLY, IN OUR REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, WE COULD NOT GLOSS
OVER -- AND CANNOT NOW -- THE PLIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN PERSECUTED
FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND FOR TRYING TO PASS THOSE BELIEFS
ON TO THEIR CHILDREN. NOR CAN WE BE SILENT NOW -- OR IN THE
FUTURE -- WHEN MEMBERS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE DENIED THEIR
EQUALITY, PARTICULARLY IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PRESERVE LANGUAGE AND
CULTURE WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO THEIR SPECIAL IDENTITY.

WE CANNOT PRETEND THAT SUCH QUESTIONS ARE IRRELEVANT TO THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, INTRUSIVE AT THIS MEETING AND
INJURIOUS -- IF DISCUSSED -- TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE.
WE LIVE IN THE REAL WORLD, NOT ONE OF MAKE-BELIEVE. WE CANNOT
MAKE OUR WORLD A BETTER ONE IF WE TURN A BLIND EYE TO ITS FAULTS.

THOSE FAULTS -- JUST AS MUCH AS OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND
OPPORTUNITIES -- WERE THE LEGITIMATE SUBJECT OF THE BELGRADE
REVIEW. THAT REVIEW DEALT PRODUCTIVELY WITH REAL SHORTCOMINGS
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IN FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION SO THAT FROM OUR EXAMINATION WE COULD EACH AND ALL MOVE TO REMEDIAL ACTION.

THAT ACTION IS STILL REQUIRED OF US. UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS NOT DETAILED IN THE MEETING'S CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THE REASON IS PLAIN. CONSENSUS WAS DENIED AND THIS I PROFOUNDLY DEPLORE.

EFFORTS TO SQUELCH THE TRUTH AT BELGRADE OR AT HOME WILL NOT CHANGE THE TRUTH. AND THEY WILL NOT DEFLECT THE UNITED STATES FROM INSISTING THAT CANDOR IS AS IMPORTANT TO THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AS IS RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY.

CANDOR AND RESPECT MUST BE COMPANION ELEMENTS IN THE PURSUIT OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION. THE FOUNDATION LAID DOWN IN THE FINAL ACT -- AUGMENTED BY THE RECORD MADE AT BELGRADE -- SHOULD ENABLE US TO BUILD AN EVER FIRMER STRUCTURE OF DETENTE. OUR FIRST PRIORITY -- ALWAYS OUR OVERRIDING CHALLENGE -- REMAINS SIMPLY TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT IN ALL OF ITS PARTS, TO DO SO IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH APPROPRIATE SPEED. THE INITIAL PACE IS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE FACT OF CONTINUING, FORWARD MOVEMENT.

FROM BELGRADE, THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO MOVE FORWARD. MY COUNTRY HAD HAD ITS PERFORMANCE QUESTIONED HERE, AND SOME OF THAT QUESTIONING HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. IT WILL AID MY COUNTRY TO IMPROVE ITS RECORD. I WISH OTHERS WERE OF EQUAL MIND.

MY DELEGATION HAS ALSO TAKEN CAREFUL NOTE OF THE THOUGHTFUL IDEAS ADVANCED BY MANY DELEGATIONS FOR ACTION CONSONANT WITH THE THRUST AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. SOME SUCH PROPOSALS CAN BE SET IN MOTION BY UNILATERAL OR BILATERAL ACTION; MANY CAN BE RETAINED AND READIED FOR DECISION IN MADRID. THE UNITED STATES

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IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE CONSTRUCTIVELY IN SUCH ENTERPRISES.

WE ESPECIALLY VALUE CSCE AS A FRAMEWORK FOR INCREASING POLITICAL INTERCOURSE AMONG ALL PARTICIPATING STATES. THE MANY AND VARIED SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT PROVIDE A RICH CONTENT FOR THIS COMMERCE. THE UNITED STATES, IN ITS EFFORTS TO DEEPEN POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH ALL CSCE STATES, WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO TRANSLATE THAT POTENTIAL INTO REALITY.

IN THE AREA OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, FOR EXAMPLE,

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN IN PRACTICE HOW STATES CAN BUILD FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT TO IMPLEMENT ITS SPIRIT. IN NOTIFYING SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS, IN MAKING NOTIFICATIONS AMPLY INFORMATIVE AND IN AFFORDING OBSERVERS GOOD OVERALL VIEWS OF MANEUVERS, SOME STATES HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE OTHERS CAN PRODUCTIVELY EMULATE. SUCH EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE; IT REMAINS TO BE APPLIED TO MAJOR TROOP MOVEMENTS. IN GENERAL, MOREOVER, WE CAN ALL THINK AFRESH ABOUT WAYS OF "DEVELOPING AND ENLARGING MEASURES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE," A POSSIBILITY THE FINAL ACT EXPLICITLY SETS BEFORE US. ALTHOUGH CSCE WAS NOT CONCEIVED AS A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING DISARMAMENT, WE HAVE ALL RECOGNIZED THE IMPETUS IT CAN GIVE TO THAT VITAL PROCESS.

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 HA-05
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FURTHER, IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION OUR FRANK DISCUSSIONS HAVE REINFORCED THE AWARENESS OF THE NEED TO REDUCE -- INDEED, THROUGH MUTUAL ACTION, TO ELIMINATE -- EXISTING IMPEDIMENTS TO TRADE. THE POTENTIAL FOR COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD IS GREAT, AND THE UNITED STATES IS FULLY PREPARED TO EXPLORE THE MANY POSSIBILITIES FOR PRODUCTIVE UNILATERAL AND RECIPROCAL ACTION. IN SUCH AN ENDEAVOR, OF COURSE, OTHER STATES MUST ALSO ENGAGE IN EXPANDING THE FLOW OF TIMELY AND ACCURATE ECONOMIC INFORMATION ON WHICH CLOSE, BROADENED CONTACTS AMONG TRADERS AND INVESTORS SO HEAVILY DEPEND.

IF THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS IN SOME DEGREE AIDED THE FLOW OF PEOPLE, IT HAS YET TO MAKE A SIMILAR IMPACT ON THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION. TOO MANY STATES CONTINUE TO IMPEDE ACCESS -- TO WHAT MANY OF THEIR CITIZENS WANT TO READ AND SEE AND HEAR.

FINALLY, THERE IS MUCH WE CAN DO TO FURTHER BILATERAL AND

MULTILATERAL COOPERATION TO WIDEN THE RANGE AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF CONTACTS AMONG SCIENTISTS AND SCHOLARS, MEN AND WOMEN OF LETTERS AND OF THE ARTS.

THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESPECIALLY ATTENTIVE TO THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ARE GREATLY CONCERNED ABOUT THOSE INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH MY DELEGATION HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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MENTIONED -- BY NAME AND BY COUNTRY -- IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WHO ARE BEING DENIED THEIR ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS. AND THEY ARE BY NO MEANS THE ONLY ONES. THE LIST OF THOSE SUFFERING REPRESSION IS FAR TOO LONG. AND THEIR FATE AROUSES THE GREATEST ANXIETY. OUR CONCERN IS NOT LIMITED TO ONE COUNTRY OR ONE SET OF INDIVIDUALS.

"INJUSTICE ANYWHERE," SAID DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, "IS THE ENEMY OF JUSTICE EVERYWHERE."

THE FINAL ACT ENSHRINES THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE -- NOT PRIVILEGE OR POWER -- RULING THE AFFAIRS OF MEN AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS REAFFIRMED THAT CENTRAL TENET IN THE CONTEXT OF DETENTE IN EUROPE. PEACE, WE HAVE SEEN, DEPENDS ON THE JUST CONDUCT OF NATIONS TOWARD THEIR OWN CITIZENS AS WELL AS TOWARD EACH OTHER.

HELSINKI AROUSED GREAT HOPES. IN SOME QUARTERS IT ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE AROUSED GREAT FEAR. IN BELGRADE WE, ON OUR PART, HAVE ATTEMPTED FORTHRIGHTLY TO DISCUSS BOTH THE HOPES AND THE FEARS OF GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SOME HOPES MAY NOT BE AS HIGH AS THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN WHEN WE CAME TO BELGRADE. BUT WE HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN THAT THE ROAD TO PEACE AND SECURITY AND COOPERATION IS A LONG AND ARDUOUS ONE.

THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE. BETWEEN NOW AND AT MADRID AND THEREAFTER WE WILL SEEK TO FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. AND WE PLEDGE TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO KEEP THE HOPES OF HELSINKI ALIVE.
GOLDBERG

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA01941
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780104-0135
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780395/aaaadcav.tel
Line Count: 429
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 38d697cb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3409817
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE -- TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S FINAL STATEMENT
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/38d697cb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014